

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T ATHENS 923

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GR TU CY

SUBJECT: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS - MEETING WITH BITSIOS

REF: A. NICOSIA 0259; B. ATHENS 0716

1. I HAD LONG PRIVATE TALK WITH FORMIN BITSIOS
CONCERNING CYPRUS. HE WAS ADAMANT ABOUT THE
DEAL HE MADE WITH CAGLAYANGIL IN BRUSSELS,
AS EMBODIED IN THEIR INITIALED DOCUMENT (REF B),
AND REFUSED TO BUDGE FROM IT.

2. HE ASKED ME IF I KNEW ANYTHING ABOUT THE
SECRETARYS MEETING WITH CAGLAYANGIL IN BRUSSELS
LAST FRIDAY WHILE HE (BITSIOS) WAS ACCOMPANYING
CARAMANLIS ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO EGYPT. I SAID I
WAS NOT FULLY INFORMED ON THE SECRETARYS MEETING
WITH CAGLAYANGIL BUT WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT
CAGLAYANGIL HAD REVIEWED FOR THE SECRETARY HIS
UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED WITH BITSIOS
ON DEC 12 IN BRUSSELS. I SAID I CONTINUED TO
HAVE THE STRONG IMPRESSION THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT
WAS PREPARED TO MOVE FORWARD RAPIDLY TOWARD A
SETTLEMENT WITH THE GREEKS ON CYPRUS. HOWEVER FOR
REASONS WELL KNOWN TO US ALL--CONCERNING THE
INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION IN TURKEY AND THE
PROBLEMS WITH DENKTASH ON THE ISLAND -- CAGLAYANGIL

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SEEMED TO FEEL THAT DIRECT PARTICIPATION BY

BOTH THE GREEK AND TURKISH GOVERNMENTS WAS ESSENTIAL
TO INSURE PROGRESS TOWARD A SOLUTION.

3. BITSIOS REVIEWED WITH ME AGAIN THE ESSENCE
OF THE AGREEMENT HE HAD REACHED WITH CAGLAYANGIL AS
SUMMARIZEE IN THE DOCUMENT (PROCES-VERBAL) THAT THE
TWO OF THEM INITIALED IN BRUSSELS (REF B). HE SAID
THAT THE PARTICIPATION OF WALDHEIM AND HIS UN STAFF
WOULD BE ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL IN TRYING TO BRIDGE
GAPS BETWEEN CLERIDES AND DENKTASH'S OPENING
POSITIONS AND THAT IT WOULD BE RIDICULOUS TO REMAND
MAJOR QUESTIONS TO SUBCOMMITTEES FOR NEGOTIATION
UNTIL AT LEAST SOME SEMBLANCE OR PROSPECT OF
AGREEMENT--OR AT LEAST SOME PRINCIPLES ON THE
BASIS OF WHICH SUBCOMMITTEES COULD NEGOTIATE--HAD
BEEN REACHED BY CLERIDES AND DENKTASH UNDER THE
AUSPICES OF THE UN SYG. BITSIOS STRESSED AGAIN THAT
THE GREEK GOVT COULD PLAY ITS MOST VALUABLE ROLE
OUTSIDE OF AND IN SUPPORT OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN
THE TWO CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES. HE SAID THE GOG WAS NOT
GOING TO CHANGE ITS POSITION ON THIS POINT AND HAD SO
ADVISED CAGLAYANGIL. WHETHER THE MEETING WILL COME
OFF IN VIENNA ON FEB 17 OR NOT -- AND WITH
WHAT
RESULTS--HE COULD NOT BE SURE. BUT HE WAS NOT
OPTIMISTIC. WHEN I TOLD HIM MY IMPRESSION THAT CAGLAYANGIL
SEEMED TO BELIEVE THAT HIS UNDERSTANDING WITH BITSIOS
IN BRUSSELS ALLOWED FOR FAIRLY RAPID DEVOLUTION TO SUB-
COMMITTEES OF THE MAIN POINTS OF CONTENTIONS, BITSIOS
SAID THIS WAS NOT AT ALL AN ACCURATE REFLECTION OF WHAT HE
AND CAGLAYANGIL HAD AGREED IN BRUSSELS. (IN FACT,
BITSIOS USED STRONGER - MUCH STRONGER - LANGUAGE IN
DENOUNCING SUCH AN INTERPRETATION BY CAGLAYANGIL.)

4. WE WENT ROUND AND ROUND ON THE SUBJECT, GETTING
NOWHERE, AND BROKE UP AGREEING TO STAY IN TOUCH AND
KEEP EACH OTHER INFORMED.

5. COMMENT: IN REVIEWING WHAT TRANSPIRED LAST MONTH
AT BRUSSELS AND THE PROCES-VERBAL BETWEEN BITSIOS
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AND CAGLAYANGIL, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THEIR
FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE IN APPROACH WAS ALWAYS
PRESENT. THAT DOCUMENT REFLECTS ONLY THE MOST
FRAGILE BRIDGE OF THEIR DIFFERENCES ON THE BASIC
POINT AS TO HOW THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE TO PROCEED.
THE GOG OBVIOUSLY WANTS TO NEGOTIATE THE TERRITORIAL
QUESTION AND A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT DIRECTLY WITH THE GOG. THE
ANKARA AUTHORITIES DO NOT APPEAR TO TRUST DENKTASH COMPLETELY

OR TO WANT TO REVEAL ALL THEIR CARDS TO HIM AT THIS STAGE.
IN ADDITION, THEY WANT THE GREEK GOVT TO HANDLE MAKARIOS AND
THE GREEK CYPRIOTS AND BRING THEM ALONG.

6. FOR ITS PART, THE CARAMANLIS GOVT KNOWS THAT
THE TERRITORIAL AND OTHER ASPECTS OF THE
SETTLEMENT WILL ENTAIL HEAVY POLITICAL COSTS IN GREECE
AND THAT MAKARIOS, IN ACTIONS AND STATEMENTS, CAN
COMPOUND THESE COSTS. THEREFORE, THEY ANT
WALDHEIM AND THE UN TO DRAW AS MUCH OF THE FIRE AS POSSIBLE,
THE MORE SO SINCE THE UN AS AN INSTITUTION CANNOT
BE CONSIDERED UNFAVORABLY DISPOSED OR UNSYMPATHETIC
TO GREEK OR GREEK CYPRIOT CAUSES. THUS, THE GREEKS
SAY THEY CAN BEST HELP BRING ABOUT A SETTLEMENT IF THEY
STAY OUTSIDE THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES AND WORK
BEHIND THE SCENES. WHAT THEY MEAN IS THAT THEY WILL
BE LESS DIRECTLY ATTACKED AND SUFFER LESS POLITICALLY
BY THE RESULTS.

7. FROM MY READING OF THE BRUSSELS DOCUMENT THE
GREEKS GOT THEIR POSITION FAR BETTER REFLECTED IN IT
THAN THE TURKS. CAGLAYANGIL NOW WANTS TO INTERPRET THE
DOCUMENT DIFFERENTLY AND PUSH FOR THE TRIPLE-TIERED
APPROACH, NAMELY, CLERIDES-DENKTASH MEETINGS FOR
APPEARANCES AND A FORUM, SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS WITH
GOG AND GOT REPRESENTATIVES TO DO THE WORK, AND
PRIVATE BITSIOS-CAGLAYANGIL MEETINGS TO ESTABLISH THE
MAIN POINTS FOR THE SETTLEMENT. IN MY VIEW BITSIOS
WILL DO ALL HE CAN TO AVOID THIS PROCEDURE, SINE WHAT-
EVER TRANSPIRES WILL NEVER REMAIN SECRET AND HE WANTS
NEITHER THE WITHERING GREEKPRESS FIRE THAT WILL
ACCOMPANY SUCH NEGOTIATIONS NOR TO GO DOWN IN THE ANNALS
OF HELLENISM AS THE PERSON WHO LEGITIMIZED THE GREEK
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DISASTER ON CYPRUS. THE RESULT? IMPASSE AGAIN -- OR
AT LEAST MORE NON-PRODUCTIVE SLOGGING AROUND.

8. WHAT IS THE ANSWER? I AM NOT SURE, BUT MAYBE ITS
WORTH TRYING TO DISABUSE THE TURKS OF THE NOTION THAT
THEY CAN BOTH GET THE SETTLEMENT THEY WANT ON CYPRUS
AND GET THE GREEK GOVT TO SERVE AS THEIR INSTRUMENT
FOR LEGITIMIZING IT. THE GREEKS ARE NOT--
AT LEAST NOT RIGHT NOW -- OPPOSING THE SETTLEMENT
ITSELF AND ON TERMS THE TURKS MIGHT VERY
POSSIBLY FIND SATISFACTORY. WHAT THE GREEKS
ARE OPPOSING -- AND STRENUOUSLY -- IS BEING
TOO HEAVILY INJURED POLITICALLY BY THE SETTLEMENT.
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